Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

# THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

Rom. 8.
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

M. DC. XLIX.

Elizabeth
Berkeley
Her Book

M. DC. XLIX.

IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS
CRESCIT SUB
PONDERE VIRTUS

Beatam et Æternam
Gloria
Cœli Specto
Asperam at Levem
Gratia
IN VERBO TUO SPES MEA
Christi Tracto
Splendidam at Gravem

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M. DC. XLIX.

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# THE CONTENTS.


1. UPon His Majesties calling this last Parliament. p. 1.
2. Upon the Earle of Strafford's death. 5
3. Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons. 10
4. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults. 13
5. Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses. 19
6. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster. 25
7. Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of England. 31
8. Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams. 35
9. Upon the Listing, and raising Armies against the King. 40
10. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia. 49
11. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards. 55
12. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland. 68
13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Comming, 74
14. Upon the Covenant. 81

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stir up the people against Him.* 90
16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.* 102
17. *Of the differences between the King & the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.* 109
18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the King.* 123
19. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories, and Defeats.* 127
20. *Upon the Reformations of the times.* 134
21. *Upon His Majesties Letters, taken, and divulged.* 140
22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots. 145
23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby. 148
24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.* 152
25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the KINGS solitude at *Holmeby.* 160
26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.* 167
27. *To the Prince of* Wales. 169
*Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and* HIS MAJESTIES *closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrook-Castle. 182

1. *Upon*

# ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΑΙΚΗ.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

## 1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THIS last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My Self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My (freedom, and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which, as I feared, affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in My Self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason, I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat, Elections were carried in many

places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen, would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal, by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My Self; who knowing best the largenesse of My own Heart, toward My Peoples good, and just contentment, pleased My Self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Children Interests, gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The only temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen My Self in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew, I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended, not only to oblige My Friends, but Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remisnesse in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amisse in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion setled and preserved in Truth, Unity and Order, then My Self, whom it most concerns in piety and policy; as knowing, That no flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretension the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament, be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what ever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My Self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My Self, and My Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our calamities, which we rob'd him of in our prosperity.

*For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming, do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.*

*Our sins have over-laid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.*

*When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to displease thee: Then, I trust, thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.*

*For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou giveſt us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.*

*Yet I do not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright*

*intention to thy glory, and my Peoples good.*

*The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the Just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.*

*O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me, and My People, the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod, as well as thy staffe, may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes, not of an Enemy, but a Father: When thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.*

*Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then Our peace could be with Our sins.*

*O thou soveraign goodnesse and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Councels, over-rule also all our hearts: That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.*

*As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.*

*As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.*

That

*That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of peace, in My heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake, AMEN.*

---

## 2. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *Death.*

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphere, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of Times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition, to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſnes in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl; when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by

thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chooſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my Judgment I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: Which, as a ſign of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or comprehenſare.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſom.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxim, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroied.* For,

In all likelihood, I could never have ſuffered with my People, greater calamities (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſign that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice, which my Conſcience ſuggeſted to me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruel a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled me to ſign that Bill, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they: He only

only hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled me, not to conſent againſt the vote of my own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them, the ſinful raſhnes of that buſines.

To which being in my ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgments God hath pleaſed to ſend upon me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to me, as to make me repent of that unjuſt Act (for ſo it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Juſtice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of my Conſcience before the preſervation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain alike conſent from me, to Acts wherein my conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed me, in my Lord of *Strafford's* buſines.

Not that I reſolved to have imploied him in my affairs, againſt the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh my Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both my ſelf and the two Houſes Vote,

and do as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This renderneſſe and regret I finde in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publike mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am farre from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappy Warre; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my own.

*But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.*

*O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.*

*Deliver me from bloud guiltineſſe, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteonsnes.*

*Against*

*Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.*

*Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that precious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.*

*Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdom, great, long and heavy troubles.*

*Make me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.*

*It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judge of our Conſciences.*

*What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul, for thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.*

*Lord, hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeaks better things; O make*

*me, and my People, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnes, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoice in thy ſalvation.*

---

## 3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My Self ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave only a free and legal Trial, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made to embroyl My Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publique peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all My deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded,

then

then either to do me and my Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or els to have cleared their innocency, and removed my ſuſpitions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; for many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men;

men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgment, which ſhall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity, if not reſtrained, and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſign: *I* thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, than to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

*But thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in my thoughts.*

*Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay my Honour in the duſt.*

*Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearance, ſearching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.*

*Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſin, in that matter: more then their impunity among good men is any ſure token of their innocency.*

*But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.*

*Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.*

*Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judge rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoice in thy salvation.*

---

## 4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a Storm at Sea (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: So tis no lesse, that he restrains the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reference to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of insolency, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My Self and My Court.

Nor

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, They muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at leaſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt minde to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: vvhoſe riot and impatience vvas ſuch, that they vvould not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Councels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenes befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable vvere their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and conived at by ſome, countenanced, encouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publique good, then obtain it by

by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their owne ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt croud in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and enbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends. But it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither the multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by my ſelf and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now farſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their courage, zeal and induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive, and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My Self, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring, not only Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My Self not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others retaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of puſillanimity in any man, for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true Valour, for a Wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which, to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens eminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then ſkuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed, that I meditated a War (when I went from *Whitehall*, only to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My Self, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied My Self in ſo many particulars: Tis evident I had then no Army to fly unto, for protection or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not fly ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom

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as yet they but plaied with in their paws? God, who is my ſole Judge, is my Witnes in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my Houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think my ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my Place and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and Children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudenes and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God; others, yet living, know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time, and the guilt of many, hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; Only I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have bin ſo caried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens, and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publike Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelihood, with Gods bleſſing might have

have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhapily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

*But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may safely fly, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.*

*The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.*

*I look upon my sins, and the sins of my people (which are the tumults of our souls against thee, O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modestie, Laws, Justice and Religion.*

*But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst assuage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.*

*Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of order and counsel.*

*Wh*

*What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.*

*O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing, or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter, be their puniſhment.*

*Set bounds to our paſſions, by Reaſon; to our Errours, by Truth; to our Seditions, by Laws duly executed; and to our Schiſms, by Charity; that we may be, as thy* Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

*This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake,* AMEN.

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## 5. *Upon His Majeſties paſſing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience I could, to the happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, which had in me no other deſign but the generall good of my Kingdoms; I willingly paſſed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments; which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might, if well applied, prevent any diſtempers from getting any head, or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three Years; but I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publike affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealouſies and future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an act unparalel'd by any of My Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein my intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preſerved no leſſe than My Subjects; which is all I deſired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe

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the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some, as I have heard, give it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My Self undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe Me with increaſe of it: when men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as I think) nor more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now only miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the Acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which, God knowes, have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and My Subjects miſeries; while as they confidently, but, God knows, falſly divulge, I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open

hoſtility

hoſtility to undoe what by my Royal aſſent J had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in me, ſo far to binde my own hands at their requeſt, if J had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though J had then a ſenſe of injuries; yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my ſelf by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnes; but J thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if J had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon me, or others, was J then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom J knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, therby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more than that my ſelf, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſinne, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonour for me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which J had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as J thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too, in all probability: if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

J thank God J know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of my own heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times;

That

That although J may ſeem leſſe a Politician to men, yet J need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had J any reſervations in my own Soul, when J paſſed it; nor repentings after, till J ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by waies of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved me, and made me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the over-much goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

J cannot ſay properly that J repent of that Act, ſince J have no reflexions upon it as a ſin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: Only J am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evil, becauſe mine were good.

*To thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.*

*Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to my Subjects, and now I need a Heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.*

Thy

*Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.*

*Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.*

*I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised Mine own; and by setling them, have unsetled My Self.*

*Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.*

*O Lord, be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other with that safety and honour which I designed.*

*Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of My People; nor is it hard for thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My Acts of greatest indulgence to them, and assurance of them.*

*But no favors from Me can make others more guilty then My Self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hath confer'd on Me.*

*I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.*

*Make me so far happy as to make a right use of*

*others*

*others abuſes, and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon my offences againſt Thee.*

*So, although for my ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.*

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## 6. *Upon His Majeſties retirement from Weſtminſter.*

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced to Sea by a Storm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more then fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either My Self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon and Conſcience, to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to My judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I ſee that

as many men they are ſeldome of one mind; and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate minds, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bils, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Surely it ceaſes to be Councel; when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary patrons ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall ſoveraignty of his ſoul, and liberty of his will, and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to me as a Man, and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to conſent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which ſubjects me only to God, ſo far as by Reaſon or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So far am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs infer; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to

ſeek

ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My Self, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me, ſhould not ſo much deſire, as enjoin them to paſſe. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by My governing only by ſuch Laws, as My People, with the Houſe of Peers, have choſen, and My Self have conſented to. I ſhall never think My Self conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour and Religion, bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the only Man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe his own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time, were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of errour, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgment of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My mind) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudenes, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Errour and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that Man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible

failings of his underſtanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force, to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councels and Propoſals. I may, in the Truth and uprightneſſe of My Heart, proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houſes, further then I thought in good reaſon I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, then when My Judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things were not abſolute and morall neceſſity of Reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honour, was to be conſidered. I choſe rather to deny My Self, then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for My Peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My Self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Intereſts, and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive My Self to be Maſter; but in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdoms (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me) Here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute; nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart gives My Tongue or Hand the Lie: Nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various

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and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason, and Publique concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

*O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us; and so far do they deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries; and commands, that we should believe and obey, rather then dispute them; yet thou dost expect from us only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the rules of Civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that only, which our Judgments approve.*

*Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.*

*My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny My Self, in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.*

*O Let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things, which I think in My Conſcience to be againſt Thy Glory, the good of My Subjects, and the diſcharge of My own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.*

*Make Me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities and injuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt My Conſcience.*

*Let the juſt liberties of My people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equall waies, without the ſlavery of My Soul.*

*Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject My Reaſon to other mens paſſions and deſigns, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of My Heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.*

*Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.*

*Leade Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.*

*This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.*

*Upon*

## 7. *Upon the Queens departure, and abſence out of England.*

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, of the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That ſhe ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, to have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedy, which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to be adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherin we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firm to their former ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of Her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Virtues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious, as to hate Her for Her Self. The fault is that She is My Wife.

All Juſtice then, as well as affection, commands me to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for my ſake: I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of my Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of my Enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my bloud.

I muſt leave her, and them to the Love and Loyalty of my good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

Tis pity ſo noble and peacefull a ſoul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudenes of thoſe who muſt take up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity & impudence.

Her ſympathy with me in my afflictions, will make her virtues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of Us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar; for We ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. *I* pray God lay not their

their ſin to their charge : who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion; and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their Benefactors as well as their Soveraign.

But even that policy of My enemies is ſo far veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of My Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy My Self.

*Thou, O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, re-unite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdom.*

*Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.*

*Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion (which is my greateſt temporal infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.*

*Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.*

*Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to*

*know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our ſouls eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.*

*Let neither Ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery, or our wilfull default.*

*Let not this great Scandal of thoſe My Subjects, which profeſſe the ſame Religion with Me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learn; nor any hardning of her in any errour thou wouldſt have cleared to her.*

*Let Mine, and other mens conſtancy, be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example.*

*Let the Truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyaltie, Charitie and Peaceableneſſe, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: not in the odious diſguiſes of Levitie, Schiſm, Hereſie, Noveltie, Crueltie and Diſloyaltie, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.*

*Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.*

*That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Ieſus Chriſt, our only Saviour, and ſerve Thee in all thoſe holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy doctrine, and moſt imitable example.*

*The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty*

*certainty of all humane Glory and greatneſſe in our ſcatterings and Eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.*

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## 8. *Upon His Majeſties repulſe at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.*

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that my greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loſſe of My Kingdons.

God knows, it affected Me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My Self; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I fore-ſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to over-ſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For tis among the wicked maxims of bold and diſloyall undertakers, That bad actions muſt alwaies be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men, whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oil, but now I

ſaw

ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which J having as yet no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it my beſt policy, with patience, to bear what J could not remedy: And in this, J thank God, J had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming My Self, or unſutable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, J think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, J deſire alwaies more to remember J am a Chriſtian, then a King; for what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injures a man, more than his greateſt enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

J cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My Cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* un-reproached, un-threatned, un-curſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, only blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected an other reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonweal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine (though it were ſuch as were able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt imployed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope many other men doe in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious fourneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgment that they cannot ſee any thing of ſin and Rebellion in thoſe means, they uſe, with intents to reform to their models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and a reparation of his duty to Me; He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their

their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have aſked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercies but only prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyaltie, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtaines a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not ingaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

*But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more then the ſin againſt thee.*

*Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.*

*Thou*

*Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know that it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.*

*I doe not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.*

*Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.*

*Lord lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.*

*Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not they have done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſinne, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.*

*That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.*

*And doe thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.*

*Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us*

to

*to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.*

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## 9. *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the KING.*

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*, What Tumults could not doe, an Armie muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul inviſible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquility.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince Me? O My Soul! be of good courage, they confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to truth, and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many indignities I have endured? Is there no way leſt to make Me a glorious King but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels

bowels of my moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits *I* muſt now reap after 17 years living & reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcariages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill councel of ſome men, driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others, envying the publique ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propencity, *I* hope, of my Self either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud, during my Reign have *I* ſhed, to ſatisfie my luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? What Widows or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with my own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

*In* vain is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt me with Swords.

God knows how much *I* have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alleged for this War againſt me; that ſo *I* might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of Peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publique Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this *I* muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in my now Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to believe me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When *I* firſt withdrew from *Whitehall*, to ſee if *I* could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing

ſupPreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſſe both mine and the two Houſes freedome of declaring and Voting according to every mans conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the Vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſours, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all Creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of juſtice and Freedome ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges, either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overthrown the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences; I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; not compelled to abet by their

their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy, and cautiouſneſſe; further than this I did never allow any mans refractorines againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then ſafety, fulnes and freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary waies by free deliberations, and votes to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſines of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by Tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, My conſcience forbids Me, by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine by My defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks or pretends, they cannot doe God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which

Which if other mens judgements binde them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; mine much more; who besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable oath upon my conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever, by giving my consent, be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, than any hath or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it, than the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with my consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition and revenge, *I* believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contendednesse to suffer a totall diminution in their Rights, and Honour for my sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent for the totall extirpation of that government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is only of civil Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such

such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being only such as Justice, Reason and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made, which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, J had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the tumults been Honourably and effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with honour and freedom, becoming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, J had obtained all that J designed by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly and speedily returned, than J retired; this being my necessity driving, the other my choice desiring.

But some men knew, J was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which J carried with me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of my absence yet they could not but be pleased with it; especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents; when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their exciters, which drave My selfe, and so many of both Houses, from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might

might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſition, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded, were either impertinent, as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and only to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat of Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to My beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſign, either to ſtop My Mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My Conſcience (who was (God knows) as far from mediating a War, as I was in the eie of the world, from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on My ſide, I do not think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned: Nor am I without that Integritie and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For

*For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou judgeſt without prejudice; Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.*

*O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.*

*Conſider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.*

*For thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſign or preparation to embroyl my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.*

*Thou, O Lord, art my Witneſſe, how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof; wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subjects bloud, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better ſpent to ſave, then to deſtroy my People.*

*O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.*

*The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch*

*ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable War; ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt my innocency in this thing.*

*Thou wilt find out bloudy and deceitfull men, many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Councels.*

*Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time, Scatter the people that delight in War.*

*Ariſe, O Lord, liſt up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.*

*Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroy My Perſon, or force My Judgement, and to make Me renege My Conſcience, and thy Truth.*

*I am driven to croſſe Davids choice, and deſire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldſt damn Me.*

Be

*Be thou ever the defence of my ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.*

*If nothing but my Blood will ſatisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporall Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by my own Subjects hands.*

*But O, let the blood of me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the Blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for that in thy Juſtice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal, plenary ſatisfaction, both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine; & when thy wrath is appeaſed by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, & forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.*

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## 10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly am I charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, & beginning this Civil War, the eies that only pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt only pray for Me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me; My unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſhearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingneſſe to fight, yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part, having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My Self, or to preſerve what is Mine own from their proreption. No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before hand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſals of My ſtrength. Such as are not for

Them: yet dare not be for Me; so over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparedness to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteem; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me, were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navy, with the Militia, is so far best for Me, That it may drive Me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew Me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the Militia so much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me, I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will need take to resolve their riddle of making me *A GLORIOUS KING*, by taking away My Kingly power: Thus shall I become a Support to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies, by being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessi-

ty

ty of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang, like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a Magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfet of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it: Soveraign Power in Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Snbjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their fears, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies; to gain the peace of all, by depriving My Self of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe then the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer then I wiſh them and My People; if I had the ſole actual diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People further then they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My Self ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from th ſe mens violence and fraud; who conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me and Them! that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way, as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine, as to the exerciſe

of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me only, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors, forbid me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no leſſe then juſtice and honor) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe my own beams, to ſatisfie their fears; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to my Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſoas by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions, which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eies to fore ſee, ſo they will find it hath more mouths too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy: where counſel may be in many of the ſenſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One, as the Head.

Happily where men have tried, the horrors, and maliguant influence which will certainly follow my

enforced

enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moon, receiveth its chiefeſt light from me) they will at length more eſteem and welcom the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by my receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right in the Power of the Militia, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury (if ſo it may ſeem) who compell me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects by expoſing my Self to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War, and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite me, then can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſſefull) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtrokes of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of mens own Conſciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For my ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſſity is pleaſed to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquallity and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compenſate to me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himſelf can deprive me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms, and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts and Castles; all flight by Sea, in My Ships and Navy; yea, though they study to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure, and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct My way to Heaven.

*Therfore, O my God, to Thee I flee for help, if thou wilt be on My side, I shall have more with Me then can be against Me.*

*There is none in Heaven, nor in Earth, that I desire in comparison of Thee: In the losse of all, be Thou more then all to Me: Make hast to succour Me, Thou that never faileſt them, that put their trust in Thee.*

*Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against Me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Me: but My eies are toward Thee.*

*Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have Thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.*

*If Thou delightest not in My safety and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what Thou wilt have Me; whose judgments oft begin with Thy own Children.*

*I am content to be nothing, that Thou maist be All.*

*Thou hast taught Me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Hoast; but yet Thou canst save Me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoasts, and the Father of mercies.*

Help

*Help Me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be Thou on My ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto Me.*

*I will give Thy Juſtice the glory of My diſtreſſe.*

*O let Thy mercy have the glory of My deliverance from them that perſecute My Soul!*

*By My ſins have I fought againſt Thee, and robbed Thee of Thy glory, who am Thy ſubject, and juſtly maiſt thou, by My own Subjects, ſtrip Me of My ſtrength, and eclypſe My glory.*

*But ſhew thy ſelf, O My hope, and only refuge! Let not Mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.*

*Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My foot-ſteps ſlip not.*

*Keep Me as the apple of thine eie, hide Me under the ſhadow of thy wings.*

*Shew thy marvellous loving kindnes, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.*

*From the wicked that oppreſſe Me, from My deadly enemies that compaſſe Me about.*

*Shew Me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.*

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11. *Upon the 19 Propoſitions firſt ſent to the KING; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My own ſafety, and My Peoples peace:

which *I* cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave only by parting with my conſcience & honor. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as my enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating my Conſcience: tis ſtrange there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my Soul. Here are many things required of me, but *I* ſee nothing offered to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours I have, or can yet grant them.

This honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerve to my Self the incommunicable Jewel of my Conſcience, and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to me; and while *I* have any maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch, as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yeilding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing. The love I have of my Peoples peace hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me, then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſome time to be denied, to

ſome

some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my Self to a generall and implicit consent, to what ever they shal desire or propound (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by his own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place & power.

This were as if *Samson* should have consented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eies, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble & loyal way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of reason, to consent or dissent, else it were very foolish & absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, nor power to grant

But if this be my Right belonging to me, in Reason, as a Man; and in Honour, as a Soveraign King (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions,

if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me truſt to their moderation, and abandon mine own diſcretion, that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelf, as bruitiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in My Soul, and the Majeſty of My Crown to any of My Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit or do refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young Stateſ-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed Me, how well they can govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the Throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God convert the *Omen*, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counſellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command My Duty.

When

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customes preterlegall, and abuses personall, had been to be removed: or some injuries done by My Self and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crown being considered by them, might fairly induce Me to condescend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My Self, whom Nature, Law, Reason and Religion, bind Me (in the first place) to preserve; without which, tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of the Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments; the ancient and universall practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons, both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions, I can observe little of these kinds; or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws disjoynted, which are to be restored; of any Right invaded; of any Justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations,

compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and schisms in the Church, and so, punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other propositi-ns are (for the most part) but as wast paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some propositions (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom *I* am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government, and the Mis-government; the Primitive patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment to be drawn into the common sewer or streame of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person, yet the first shal never overcome Me, further than I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the Two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgement tell Me, that the Propositions sent to Me were the Results of the major part of their Votes, who excercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them. For

For, I have charity enough to think, there are Wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want, so tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatnesse and irrability, as to exclude My Self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve, as My Self: Without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessarie in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to Me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation (which in My two last famous Predecessors daies, heaved at, and sometimes threatned both Prince and Parliaments) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobilitie and Gentrie of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar. Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and effect the enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of whatever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast

vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour and Safety both of Church and State, command Me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down. If the ſtraitneſſe of My Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge and injuſtice both to God and man; they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Me, then for this, that My throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, *I* am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew My negative power, ſhall have any biaſs upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My will, by denying any thing, which My Reaſon and Conſcience commands Me not.

Nor on the other ſide will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour and Religion perſwade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own Peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and *I* may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſell of that mighty Councellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my Heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

*O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with Omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt with the clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice in My Underſtanding: then ſo con-*

*firm*

*firm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies, may ever enforce me against the rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.*

*Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a Man; and dare not say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.*

*Shall that be blamable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?*

*Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality and injustice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, which thou hast given to all Men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.*

*To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.*

*O Lord, make thy way plain before me.*

*Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.*

*Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be don.*

*I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.*

*Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.*

*The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdome directing me; while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.*

*Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by my consent.*

*Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any remorse or perverse dissentings.*

*Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publique good; of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.*

*Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.*

*Since we must give an account of every evil*

*and*

*and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall: Lord make me carefull of thoſe ſolemn Declarations of My minde which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weal.*

*The leſſe others conſider what they ask, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.*

*Though mine owne, and My Peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet Lord, never ſuffer Me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expence or waſt of My Conſcience; whereof thou, O Lord, only art deſervedly more Maſter then my ſelf.*

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## 7. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.*

THE Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard, at firſt, either to diſcern the riſe, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternall, both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens malice againſt Me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to My charge, this bloudy opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which *I* muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo

full

full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelf, and deſtructive to My Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by My Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their Duty towards me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionable to me; nor competent trials, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegre of falſity and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much, as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot doe well, but in evill times; nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events

on

on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly; 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where diſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion; a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth waſh My hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in My Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe tears and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civil diſſentions and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate, then My Self; I offered to go My Self in Perſon upon that expedition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted;

quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then My Self; or that any ſhould have the glory of My deſtruction but themſelves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs bee; who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not only to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, Men, Women and Children, without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy; which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to bear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe embecilitie for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) Un-Evangelicall Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then call for fire from Heaven, upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob's* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed; chuſing rather to uſe all extremitiess which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all merciſull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell then counted

counted cold, and is not seldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly intreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party here, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carryed on that businesse by persons of honour and integrity, that so I might neither encourage the Rebels insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against Me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; if during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud then to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions (which are proue to finde more credulitie in men to what is false and evil, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me, so I can

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have comfort to appeal to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Jobs*.

I have enough to doe to look to my own conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt, as a KING: I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a fornace; much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: if I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelf: And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*: And command the Sword of Civill Warres to ſheath it ſelf: his merciſull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: The abatement of our ſins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

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*O My God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.*

*Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.*

*Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.*

*O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.*

*Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.*

*O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſins, and remove thy judgments which are very many, and very heavy.*

*Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.*

*In the ſea of our Saviours bloud drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own bloud bring us*

*at*

at last to a state of piety, peace and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And leade those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance, or errours, have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art so far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou hast pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein; give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therfore justly cursed.

*Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice a Poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.*

*And deal with me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy ſight.*

*If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloudy diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe.*

*O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity; which thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well: But I truſt not to my own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.*

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13. *Upon the calling in of the Scots; and their coming.*

THE Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not only common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty; with My Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpeciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to prefer the deſires of that Party, before My own Intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royall bounty

emboldens

emboldens some men to ask; and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army, only to conform this Church to their late New Model, cannot seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save only to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice: I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the only just reformation, and setling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergie, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either passion, of some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion for any forraign State, or Church, to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves

have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; that may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equall diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conform to the Scots pattern before ever they could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the field, then Scholars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion thoſe truths gain moſt on mens Judgments and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rationall conviction hath been applyed, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practice, only becauſe that party of the Scots will needs, by force, aſſiſt a like

Party

Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep, into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least, fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the Scotch sole Presbyterie were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those Scots, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those Scots endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy; which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun, with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those Scots had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many solemn obtestations and pious threatnings, but only this; to present to Me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? All which Presbyterie seeks to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism, and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Laws, and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those Rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My Self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glory of Christ above Mine Own; and the salvation of mens Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both My own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle My Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper Engine is force; the arbitrator of

of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to Me: then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the Justifiablenes of their doings, and designs before God, never think they have human strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the people; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance; others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a setledness by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, despising the Kirk Government, and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more then charitable assistance: For sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Chri-

ſtendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes and pretenſions of Religion; in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns; In vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyaltie. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward me, as to make me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of nature and Conſcience, which they have to me, all Reaſon and true policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not their inſerviceablenes to any party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my Self to God.

*The troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring Thou Me out of My diſtreſſe.*

*Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.*

*Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.*

*Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt my Soul, to the betraying of My conſcience, and Honour.*

*Thou,*

*Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah and Iſrael, to reſtore David with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe purſue Him.*

*Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in Me, and I ſhall not deſpair of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.*

*Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.*

*O My God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not my enemies triumph over Me.*

*Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my ſoul.*

*Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve Me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.*

*Redeem thy Church, O God, out of al its troubles.*

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or to raſe Epiſcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemn a charm and exorciſm be caſt out of this Church, after more then a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and

an universall prescription, of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbyterie, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately boied up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My Self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; & such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares

snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politicke and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think, that the chiefe end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other in such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of conscience endeavour to carry the best designs (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensable both to God and My self.

I am prone to believe and hope, that many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement; That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factions

and

and powerfull perturbations of ſtate or Church: when formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when polititians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, endleſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humors of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and withes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but only the ſubtilty and terrour of a party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve or ſuſpend their former, juſt and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall waies ſeldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the party and deſign intended.

I ſee the impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but follow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, the diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cauſions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not their chief Deſign which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party; ſo little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and Loyaltie: who first yeelded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some general Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and excercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it; It shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull calling can engage him.

As for the Reforming of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the Doctrine and

and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amisse, I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, than the Bishops, and Church-men. These, as the fattest Dear, must be destroyed; the other Rascall herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboths* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fils the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown with my Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrance of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops, and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not only what the pi-

ous

ous munificence of My Predeceſſours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaohs* Divinity, and *Joſeph's* true Piety abhorred to doe: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred emploiment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red-ſea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave, either It, or Him, who eſteem it His greateſt Title to be called, and his chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring, Sacriledge and Apoſtacie.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſour *Henry* the third ſometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next worke will be *Jeroboam's* Reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves, who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity

rity and poverty of Miniſters both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

Theſe are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe: I pray God neither I, nor mine, may be acceſſary to either.

*To thee, O Lord, do I addreſſe my Prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretentions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.*

*Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.*

*Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge, under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.*

*Suffer not ſacrilegious deſigns to have the countenance of religious ties.*

*Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, That it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after vows to make enquiry.*

Ever

*Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity, of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.*

*Though My Treasures are exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations, lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.*

*Let not the debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.*

*The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times where the charity of most men are grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.*

*Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright unto thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.*

*Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor*

*the*

*the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.*

*Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

*Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wicked and injuriously.*

*Divide their hearts and tongues, who have bandied together against the Church and State; that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.*

*But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.*

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## 15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth: and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagement against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come

come ſhort of their Deſigns: For, I can more willingly looſe My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms ſo dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with My Life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kinde of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret Engines at firſt employed againſt My Peoples love of Me; that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not ſo afflictive to me, as the ſin and danger of my peoples ſouls, whoſe eies once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate principles of actions: wherein they do not only, not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Deſtroyers; Imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God I never found but my pity was above my anger; nor have my paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt me, as to exclude my moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours, more then their own malice, have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errours, not my Perſon; and intended to mend me, not to end me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good intentions,

that

that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better ſervice, and my people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of My People, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhal the malice of My enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few, with any ſineſter thoughts of their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can doe, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyaltie.

The ſenſe of the injuries done to My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My Self; our welfares being inſeparable; in this only they ſuffer more then my ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of my enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that my afflictions grieve me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be my own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and mine Enemies,

as

as by contrary winds the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather increaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their happineſs; if it could expiate and countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of ſubjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray my own juſt Rights and Soveraignty, thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of my enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As liers need have good memories, ſo malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve me to bear, and my charity to forgive, then my leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider my Subjects ſatisfaction, then my own Vindication; I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would have the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil manners, and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe ſcandals, which they have caſt on me; And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility,

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(I need not say Loyaltie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquie, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First, Nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search my own Innocency, then when I observed so many forward to engage against me, who had made great professions of singular piety; for this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon me, and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of me, and not to blaspheme him; so many were perswawed that these two were utterly inconsistent to be at once Loyal to Me and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both Learned and Religious (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who where so wel satisfied in the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, then forsake me.

Nor is it strange that so religious Pretensions as were used against me, should be to many wel-minded men, a great temptation to oppose me; especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnesse of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize me and mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down mine, as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of my Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any acception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion; whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give my Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Contrary to those well tied foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, preserve, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it; especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameneſſe of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God: The second, they owe to me in Common,

mon, as their KING; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or other, who did but their duty to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegience, then my Protestant professours; who seem to have learned, and to practice the worst principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me (and very pleasing no doubt to my enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my Evil Councellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens councels but their own, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving me better councel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their councels more like a drench that must be poured down, then a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties my self, or my Councellours: They might be sub-

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ject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more repairable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagancies, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My Self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hel of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was, to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought *I* had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My Self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergie; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the Vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My Peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My Self; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their lives and fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their ambitious and covetous deſigns over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and oppreſſions.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth this rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety, while he ſeeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time wil beſt inform My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow Subjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to use their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt al Laws both Divine and humane; under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how little *I* deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignity, which is the

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only King of mens consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for conscience sake; giving no men liberty to break the Law established, further then with meekness and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publike Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their fortunes, or satisfie their ambition, in peaceable times (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principal) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by my which Subjects have bin perswaded to expend much of those plentifull Estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My Self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so my reputation shall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects. And who knows but the just and mercifull God wil do me good, for some mens hard, false and evil speeches against me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe or know

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlers (which like fire in great conflagrations, flee up and down to set all places on like flames) than those men doe, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to

God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speak evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those*, who are honoured with the name of Gods.

But tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of Divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of My Face, while God gives Me a Heart frequently and humbly to converse with Him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majesty.

*Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonour; My Adversaries are all before thee.*

*My Soul is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.*

*Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me are sworn together.*

*O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My glory into shame? How long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?*

*Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest My Enemies prevail against Me, and lay Mine Honour in the dust.*

*Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies;*

the

*the Lord will abhor both the bloud-thirſty, and deceitfull men.*

*Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and my innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon day.*

*Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence; nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.*

*Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's tongue to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgments on David he might ſeem to juſtify his diſdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of Eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

*Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hel, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.*

*Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evil ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.*

*Teach me Davids patience, and Hezekiahs devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

*Let Shebas ſeditious ſpeeches, Rabſhekahs railing, and Shimeis curſing, provoke, as My*

*humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward Me.*

*Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to My People.*

*That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.*

*Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.*

*Hide Me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.*

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## 16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely. So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part of Religion (being the Souls more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to tell them, they served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or forms of constant prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for manner or matter, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after

after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veyn and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it; and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts. As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are sooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he praies to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truth, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church

Sure we may as wel before hand know what we pray

as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? Our appetite and digeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affections of variety for expreſſions, in publique prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, then unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly mens, ſuch as the compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe with ſeri-

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ous deliberation and concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) then any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the senslesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intoerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way. Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say in things of so sacred a nature before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed profane a manner. Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publique composure; or else they must every time affect new expressions, when the Subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order and gravity, becomming those duties; which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches to remedy

thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publique compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſms, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtraction in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pitie.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abet thoſe innovations (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publique Liturgie. Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeveritie of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service book; or refuſed to uſe it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the libertie of their conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory; as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain, which will ſerve to delude the Vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common Prayer Book publiquely, although their conſciences bind them to it, as a dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others, to conform to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended conſcientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret they now allow Me, and

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My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me; whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way, comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo populous a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates; leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not only for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious pietie, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they thought to gratifie, by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſay, *Amen*; nor yet charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even curſings of Me in their own Forms, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their only puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath alreadie produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to ſet Forms of ſound and wholſom words.

*And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joined to conſtant expreſſions.*

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*Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-adviſed Devotions.*

*Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.*

*And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.*

*Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.*

*Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.*

*And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in novelty and variety, as truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity and order, under this fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formality.*

*Lord keep us from formall Hypocriſie in our*

*own*

*own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.*

*Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to mend without us.*

*Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeal, and over-bold devotion.*

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17. *Of the differences between the KING and the Two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of piety, and policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it is impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependence on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the Keys of Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) entruſted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State: I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of

(of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarineſse of People, or the factiousneſse or pride of Presbyters, or the covetousneſs of some States and Ptinces, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the charge was beneficial

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours, the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions, and examples,

examples, are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons only of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of wel-being, then the want of the word & Sacraments, in point of being.) I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, & Apostolical constitution; which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the main scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiastical discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and dignities of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*, as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall dignity which had extraordinary cal, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use (the great arbitratour of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the honour of whose name

name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all dourbt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as for divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Church practises, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traitours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation, and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, & all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiasticall examples, whereon My Judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinancy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of wordly respects be so considerable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations

relations with My Kingdoms have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not only in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practice the beſt commentary; but alſo in right Reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to ſo many Congregations, and Preſbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority. So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and enjoyed in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counſel and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errours, Corruptions, and partialities, which are incident to any one man: Alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium*

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of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magiſteriall; and wherein not only the neceſſity of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and apritudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine, touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppoſition againſt it: It is well knowne *I* have endeavoured to ſatisfie My Self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as farre leſſe of Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo for examples and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivolet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late Reformed Churches (for many retaine Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops ſhould be forced to conform thoſe few, rather then to the Catholique example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately Governed by Biſhops,

ſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdome or charity, where Chriſtans differ (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handfull of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them, have ever owned as Catholique, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtraied from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government by Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as by the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning and integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops; and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe

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ſo ſudden, and ſo totall change, little Reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt enemies to, and Betraiers of their own intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform, what ever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſs vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or perſons; which ſeditious and popular principle and practice, all wiſe men abhorre.

For thoſe ſecular additaments & ornaments of Authority, Civil Honor & Eſtate, which My Predeceſſours, and Chriſtian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as juſt rewards of their learning and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of reſpect and obſervance; which in peacefull times is hardly paid to any Governours by the meaſure of their vertues, ſo much, as by that of their Eſtates; Poverty and

and meanneſſe expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe encouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time my judgment of men failed my good intention made My errour veniall: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or fore-head can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Epiſcopacy; wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavoured to do againſt all theſe grounds of My Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more then I doe, Thus the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other wayes: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well

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well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being neceſſary in the Churches wel-being when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others; which would not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly & diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens Zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem to Me is no leſſe ſin, then Sacriledge; or a robery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Futhermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that GOVERNMENT, and the RIGHTS of the HURCH.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoone, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious

notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge and Perjury? Beſides the many perſonall injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondered how men pretending to tendernes of Conſcience and Reformation can at once tell me, that my Coronation Oath binds me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to me (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that rational and religious freedom which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange my lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both my ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our Souls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think my ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God and man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with me) both Church and State, in civill Diſſentions, till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in my Soul abhorre; as many waies highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully, and diſhonourably give my conſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which Contend with

with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it ſhould be conſidered that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this; for what I think in My judgement beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yeilding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that poiut: nor indeed hath My yeilding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſsfull as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekne, Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgement to be biaſſed, or fore-ſtaled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can *I* finde that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe paterns are ſo cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms, (by Gods bleſſing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitutions.

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The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires, and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Preſbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affairs ſhould be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Preſbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My judgement and conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

*For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightnes and tendernes, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, & a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborn againſt my conſcience.*

*Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.*

*Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pity or relieve.*

*As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.*

*And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights, as a KING, yet preſerve me in*

*that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.*

*Preserve from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.*

*Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boar and subtil Foxes, to wast and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.*

*O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with* Constantine, *cover with silence, and reform with meekness, than expose their persons and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

*Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it, from unreasonable men; whose Counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schisms, and disorders.*

*O thou God of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine*

*mine, and thy Churches enemies.*

*That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.*

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## 18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of My Reaſon, than My Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelf, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think a diminution of Me, to prevent them with expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not only of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity to ſeek *peace and enſue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Arms, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had, ever inhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Me as

any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honor and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My peoples happines; nor of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindred my Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever those demands were made, some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to my self, and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allaied, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to lose in Warre, studied to render the very name of Peace odious and inspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation,

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I only sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elswhere set down my thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of

of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the Primitive Apoſtolicall pattern, and the practice of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, only to ſatisfie ſome mens wils and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftnes and infirmity of minde in me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than mans peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, than croſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time will diſcover who were moſt too blame for the unſucceſsfulneſſe of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of Peace to my people, than the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feeblenes, and glory moſt in an inflexible ſtifneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make me deſtroy my ſelf by diſhonourable conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved temp-



nor

not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſign of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counſellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

*O thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to treat with ſinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf: who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as men and Chriſtians: How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak therof, they make them ready to War.*

*Condemn us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.*

Clear

*Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; & in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.*

*Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.*

*Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.*

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19. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories and Defeats.*

THE various Successes of this unhappy War, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with Victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hoasts*; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From smal beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my Cause, and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisements both

of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſinnes may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of Warre a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their owne ſkill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My juſt commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State, (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent Fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will ſit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them: ſome paraſitick preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fight-

fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſigns by any innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and My Self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their Souls.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better againſt My Side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict with, and accuſe them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a

ſober man (that duly values his duty, his Soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) than the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences doe purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the only plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own ſouls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide, were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens conſciences, that even prophaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine own Subjects; who, like *Abſolom*, dyed many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but only reſtore the Lawes and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with my Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When

When providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who, I believe at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My self. When the first was denyed, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My innocency forbad Me to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty; and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish only a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine *justce* to be quiet: we have conquered his patience, are

condemned

condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſins un-ſubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars, that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, than all of us may be ſubject to God.

*O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.*

*Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and my enemies, by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.*

*Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.*

*Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.*

*Be thou all, when we are ſomething; and when we are nothing; that thou mayſt have the glory, when*

*when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.*

*Thou, O Lord, knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puuiſhments.*

*Since therfore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which only can be ſufficient for me.*

*As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed: that I may be not only happy to ſee an end of theſe civil diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.*

*Stir up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-deniall as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.*

*If O Lord, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of war, ſo for the ſins of war thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects,*

*to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.*

*Impute not to Me the blood of my ſubjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief, hath been ſhed by Me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt: who wil, I truſt, redeem Me ſhortly out of al my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of hypocrites is but for a moment.*

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## 20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo farre, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the Freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schiſms, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed, (as ſhowres doe warme gleames) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Counſels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the Two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affairs, *I* diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to doe and declare what they doe.

For *I* cannot think ſo many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolicall

ſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion, againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and My Conſent; which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on My underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctuall in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presbyterie, what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbyterie; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels; and ſuch (I believe) as have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry other mens deſigns: which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations, or diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties

parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publique ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay, *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe, and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the vulgar (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation, ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompenſe or remedie the inconveniencies and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My Self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretentions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publique Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformations, to such private designes as must needs hinder the publique good.

*I* am sure the right methods of reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion be justly advanced, by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

*I* doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, since as *I* own Mine from Him, so *I* desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſts Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill-governed in their words and actions, both againſt Me, and one another.

As good ends can juſtifie evil means, ſo nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions; unleſſe God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confuſions, and peace out of our paſſions.

*Thou, O Lord, who only canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie, ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall waſhings, inſtead of Chriſtian reformings.*

*Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own ſouls.*

*That we may in clearneſſe of judgment, and uprightneſſe of heart, be means to reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.*

*Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.*

*Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.*

*As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable*

*ritable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their Councels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull waies shall entrust with so great, good. and now most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.*

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21. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers. The greatest experiments of vertue and noblenes being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; The freedom and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane, than to expose them to publike view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish

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My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into my moſt retired thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve my own Rights, than to procure their peace and happines, and that extream grief to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to ſee my conſtancy to my Wife, the Laws and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſign, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I cannot only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, my expreſſions can doe them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let al men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to my own, then my peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act my own, and my Kingdoms Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwaies been very loath ſhould be believed

believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evil Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Counſellour; and having none elſe to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My Self: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing Me to think their Counſels to be other then good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Virtue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſigns, as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with My People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms: Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, no worthy to Reign; By exquiſite methods of cunning

ning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of My Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such undecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tenderness, which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father: Nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of

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many(as he did *David*)to whom they thought,by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Person,not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

*But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs; make Me to see the constancy of thy mercies toMe,in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of My Enemies against Me.*

*As thou didst blast the counsel of* Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing My private Letters, nothing else, but to render Me more odious and contemptible to My people.*

*I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with My integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are,which My enemies endeavour by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.*

*Make the evil they imagined,and displeasure they intended thereby against Me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion,as with a Cloak.*

*Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.*

*But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake,and thy Churches good.*

*Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know*

*know thou wilt honour Me, either by restoring to Me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive Me of; or by bestowing on Me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evil.*

*Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make Me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me: who art the lifter up of My head, and My Salvation.*

*Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.*

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22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest My Head: Shewing Me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My self, and My now distressed affairs upon His Mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellour, and commands me to ſtudy my ſafety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who firſt began my troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This my confidence of them, may diſ-arm and overcome them; my rendring my perſon to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyaltie: and give them opportunity to let the world ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both my Counſellour and my Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve My Soul to God, and My Self; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell Me, to deſert Mine Honour, or ſwerve from My Iudgment.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deſert Me of all Military power to defend My Self; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have Adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed Me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous, than that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſoli-

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cious for My Friends safety, than Mine own: chusing to venture My Self upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is some skil in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Armes, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no successe darkens or disguises Truth to Me; and I shall no lesse conform My words to My inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think My Self weakned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclypse of outward fortune shall rob Me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosity to deny what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shal never think My Self lesse than My Self, while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience, the only Iewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

*O thou Soveraign of our Souls, the only Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eies are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.*

*As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battail, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.*

*Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and pro-*

*tect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.*

*Thou knowest, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from me.*

*Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwaies accompany me, in my ſolitude and deſertions.*

*Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.*

*Leade me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.*

*Make my waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make my enemies to be at peace with me.*

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## 23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further, than to men: if I am ſold by them, I am only ſorry they ſhould do it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelf; who never faileth the that truſt in him: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelf, which I loſe while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity and inconſtancy.

God

God ſees tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soul in ſin; nor gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my Soul is ſtil my own: nor ſhall they ever gain my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

Tis evident now, that it was not evil Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me; not more a King, and far leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it hath as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhal the love of any liberty entangle my ſoul: Better others betray me, than my Self: and that the price of my Liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this,

That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My Self and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to Me, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honour of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more than any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Laws will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of My Subjects; if I bury them not by My Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If My Captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſteri-ties thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew My Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them; happily *I* might redeem My Self to ſome ſhew of liberty, if *I* would conſent to enſlave them: *I* had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom *I* pray God to deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe ſoli-tude hath not left Me alone.

*For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better than life, and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.*

*Own Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.*

*Bleſſe Me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice, as a King.*

*Though thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward*

*ornaments,*

ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy my self; and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over my passion, to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: doe thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained; O be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hath holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee; yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the veil and shadow of death, yet shal I fear none ill.

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24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplyed by the attendance of some of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I

have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowing of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderness to My temptations; for the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in those things, where the civil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their souls.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angell; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine, and such I would have all Mine to be.

That they envy my being a King, or loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought the unchriſtiannes of thoſe denials might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee Me prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent comforters or Phyſitians; Who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, & inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotional compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in praier, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe than the diſeaſe, and ſome comforters more miſerable, then miſery it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy, and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred function, that I have hazarded My own Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eies of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father and a Patron, for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for My ſufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meannes, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: only I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in my Judgement, and most suitable to my affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his own Vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches, and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may join My Heart unto, then I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main, and most necessary requisites, both in constant and occasionall, solitary and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to al equal minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains

lains before that of their Miniſters, as J do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, J have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, J am not yet catechized, nor acquainted: And if J were, yet ſhould J not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government and Liturgy of this Church. But, J had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what J do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by My Denyers ſufficient of My Self to diſcharge My Dutie to GOD as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, J think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the ſame Perſon; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could J follow better preſidents, if J were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Salomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Pſalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of great honour, where rightly placed, than any of thoſe the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods wiſdome and providence hath, for the moſt part, alwaies diſtinguiſhed the

giſts

gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to finde My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse enforce me to live many Months without all Praiers, Sacraments and Sermons, unlesse I become my own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self, and its services to God, every private beleever is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royal Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to my spirituall defects makes Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Me; so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might

lesse

leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny me, than this of having ſome means afforded me for my Souls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but only this, that they may ſeem too able, and too well affected toward me and my ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced me to ſerve my ſelf; though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me, and help my infirmities in praier, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or inſtructer.

*To thee therfore, O My God, do I direct My now ſolitary praiers; What I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtance of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.*

*O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all ſufficiency: By thee as all acceptance: Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.*

The

*The ſingle wreſtlings of* Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred duel, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

*O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joint and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might enflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to meet in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladnes, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.*

*O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.*

*It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings and devout reflections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of praier, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.*

*Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weaknes of my praiers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps; which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.*

*O let the hardnes of their hearts occaſion the ſofinings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love; let their unreaſonable denials of my religious deſires the more excite my praiers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnes encline thine ear to me; who art a God eaſie to be intreated; thine ear is not heavy that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear, nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help me thy deſolate Suppliant.*

*Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church, but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.*

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise; Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar, while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent praiers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee, who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou, O Lord didst cause by secret supplies, and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oil in the cruise fail the widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsome food for the refreshing of my soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty praiers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my destruction (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how some men (under colour of long praiers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God. O let not those mens balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednes.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the

prosperity

*prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King, and my God.*

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25. *Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the* KINGS *solitude at* Holmeby.

GIve ear to my word O Lord, consider my meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee I pray.

I said in my hast I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou heareſt the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet inlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far short of *Davids* piety; yet since I may equall *Davids* afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for J am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are inlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgot to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have bin for many generations.

J had utterly fainted, if J had not beleeved to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Thongh thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still; Let it J beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thonghts of Revenge, that J may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, so J beseech thee doe thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so hear and except this vow, which J make before thee.

Jf thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and setling thy true Riligion amongst us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſmes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in piety, to me in loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of theſe Civil Warres.

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedom of Publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefeſt care.

Then will *I* rule my people with Juſtice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever own as the rightfull ſucceſſion, ſo the mercifull reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, ſafety, and honour, to my chiefeſt City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into My hand to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As

As *I* doe freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our un-natural divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have *I* purposed this in my heart, That I wil use all means in the waies of amnesty, and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my people.

Hear my praier O Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am *I* that *I* should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my people and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies surprisall of the* KING *at* Holmby, *and the ensuing distractions in the Two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God wil have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man; who only seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a King cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *Omen*; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose inteſtine bitterneſſe and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my keepers and prison, but not my captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the peoples liberties, cannot be utterly against the liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stāped with the authority of laws, which they cannot wel have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a busineſſe of such consequence, as the assuming my Person into the Armies custody without any Commission, but that of their owne will and power

dower. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſign they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine juſtice; they that by tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee me, and many members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew (as my ſelf was forced to do) from the rudenes of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtaied then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelvs by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies and betraiers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent advantages then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

J ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

J cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, J alwaies wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that J was ſorry to ſee them do, or ſuffer any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdom.

J was glad to ſee them only ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: J never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpair of their Loyaltie to Me; which miſtakes might eclypſe, but J never believed malice had quite put out.

J pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compaſſionate grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent enemies; there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſy, than

than in a right line of Reason tending to the Law, the only center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, than to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenesse: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable) as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publique peace, that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them than My Self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain My Self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

*But thou, O Lord, who art perfect unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy justice hath divided. Deliver me from the strivings of my People, & make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against One another, to the continuance of my Kingdomes distractions.*

*Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wils of parties, but in the point & du observation of the laws.*

*Make me willing to go whither thou wilt, lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.*

*Make me (even such as thou wouldst have me, that I*

*may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.*

*Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to add fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.*

*Give them eies to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace; and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory, and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.*

*Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in sin; nor shal they be long un-disarmed, and un-destroied, who hath a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.*

*Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.*

*Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.*

*Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; & in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they know not what they did.*

*The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.*

*O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.*

*But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more of them in thy mercy, than of mans cruelty, or thy own justice.*

27. To

*Natus Maij 29. Anº 1630. Ætatis suæ 19.*

## 27. *To the Prince of Wales.*

SON, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My conscience, and My most impartiall thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some direction, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injurie of My long restraint, when I find My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My Self, and usefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe; nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My Self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees set in Winter) then in the warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies

remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned by the unparallel'd prosperitie of *Salomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign disposer of the Kingdoms of the world; who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing *Gods glory* in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civil power, with Justice and Honour to the Publique Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which Center of true Happinesse God, I trust, hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer

to

to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, wel-grounded and setled in your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgment and Reason now seal to that secret bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as comming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which *I* have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be not more necessary for your souls then your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For J have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens consciences accuse them for sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeal.

So that, unlesse in this point you be well setled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of

Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publique Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgment, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as Head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyaltie, juſtice, or humanitie, then from thoſe, who engage into Religious Rebellion: Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Preſbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; ſo compliant they were to publique order: Nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſeth inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants

to

to Presbyterie their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming, and effectuall suppressing errours and Schisms, which seem at first but as a hand bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul, and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Justice, wherein the setled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body; the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in

remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worse then legall Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: Nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer for men, while I retain in My Soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience I can; reserving only what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to you also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which, if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will; My counsel and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſel, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitnde (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in your Self, or others, a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and impartiall to the intereſts of your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded only upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence, and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutours, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eie, and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain you the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, although they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of

virtue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed in Church and State) No ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalry, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, then againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſigns, ſhall diſcover themſelves, which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation and Liberty: As the Wolf is not leſſe cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſigns (as other men) ſo that you ſtudie really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, pietie and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection (as they do, who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancy of their King,

When theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of

of your virtues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences, then those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them: Let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely art and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwaies propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an act of State policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality ſets you beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of your mind muſt raiſe you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious you ſhall be to your own merits upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyaltie from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards you; both which, I hope you will ſtudie to deſerve; yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and you after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſin can diveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee you in peace, to let you more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never ſee My Face again, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity (which the perfecting ſome mens deſigns require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your KING, that you never ſuffer your Heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not only in Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyrannie, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchie.

Not

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe ſpirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeal abate your value and eſteem of true piety; both of them are to be known by their fruits: The ſweetneſſe of the Wine and Figtree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injury or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyaltie, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by

by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedom and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publique intereſt conſiſts in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave, and honourable waies to contribute their counſels in common, enacting all things by publique conſent, without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever reſtored to Our Rights, but God in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep you to true principles of Pietie, Virtue, and Honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principall point of your honour will conſiſt in your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bleſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (what ever becoms of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in

in My own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your Wiſdom, Juſtice, Piety, and Valour, of what, the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgments.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miſſe of Me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of Your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty towards Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a *Chriſtian King*, ſo I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with intereſt that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, do you perform; when God ſhall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maſk of Religion is the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince My Reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they ſought not for

for me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your ſubjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin and their infelicity.

I pray God bleſſe you, and eſtabliſh Your Kingdoms in righteouſneſſe, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have diſloyaltie perfected by My deſtruction; let my memory ever, with my name, live in you; as your Father, that loves you: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them: while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my people, and my own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore me to my Rights, I cannot deſpair either of his mercie, or of my peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth yet in Heaven.

*Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and* HIS MAJESTIES *cloſer Impriſonment in* Cariſbrook Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for

for my Death: for I know, there are but a few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the ſpace, but mans cruelty, that gives me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a man; *I* now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruell paſſions, whoſe envie or enmity againſt me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, my proſperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwayes uncertain: Death being an eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in me thoſe naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God the common terrours of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the immaturity unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, what ever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to thoſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope)

ſo

ſo bad as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to die; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us over-live our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a KING, I think My Self to live in nothing temporall ſo much, as in the love and good will of My People; for which, as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: Notwithſtanding, My Enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſity and violence of hoſtility to deſtroy, firſt the love and Loyaltie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the huſk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeemes deſirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience & magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honor of our lives, & the beſt improvement of our deaths

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our proſperity

moves.

moves higher, or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samſon's* Lyon, but they yeild much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the withering of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſodain, and barbarous death; in the ſtrength of My years; in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators; My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared todie; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me. I confeſſe it is eaſie for Me to contend with thoſe many horrours, wherewith God ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities; whereby My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeeke to adde (as thoſe did, who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity, it will be but a neceſſary policy to make My death appear as an act of juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or man inveſts them with any power of Judicature

cature without Me, much leſſe againſt Me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour My preſervation, muſt Pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraigne; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My bloud ſeem to waſh their own hands in that innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applyed onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſignes, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My Self with the Church and State by My Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition, no Conceſſions of Mine, could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both my Protectour, and my Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I owne

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as King of Kings, not only for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of my death among themselves; the injuries *I* have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my bloud shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to me by those I have lived to see since My troubles; in which, God alone (who only could) hath many waies pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sinne was their onely security; who have cause to fear, that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example, in suffering for righteousnesse sake (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over My Destroyers:

ſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to walh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their only rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by My danger; and the ſecurity of their lives deſigns by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temprations to ſin, are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God, are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my death, are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of defired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward His Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death, will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdom with himſelf.

For

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to me, as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publique; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I beleeve, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nailes, been ſo cruel, as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority; upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the

Cauſe

Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the only clear, ſafe and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of My Cauſe, and clearneſſe of My Conſcience before God, and toward My people will carry me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hel, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſign. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſayls of Pirats, doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedom and honour of Parliaments, the rights of My Crown, the juſt liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if *I* had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborn them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) then they can give me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more

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to my Enemies, then my Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſin and ſorrows attending this miſerable life; wherewith theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which, I have been forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction, and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for ſin to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages for my owne ſin, as from God, and the effect of others ſins, as men, both againſt God and me: yet as I hope my own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain; that my temporal death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternal death upon them; for I look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, then the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me overboard: though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm, themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have only discover'd this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying Me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed My accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

*Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.*

*Thou O God art both the just afflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.*

*Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.*

*O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.*

*If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.*

*To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee above, who art the Almighty and immortall God.*

*O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die*

*with Me, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee My God.*

*Though I die, yet I know, that thou My Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt Me, yet thou haſt encouraged Me to truſt in thee for eternall life.*

*O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.*

*O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.*

*As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſigns of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my Deſtruction.*

*O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.*

*Thou giveſt me leave as a Man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.*

*Yea Lord, let our wils be done, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.*

*As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.*

*Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.*

*Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee, and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.*

*For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?*

*Such as have not only resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.*

*Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.*

*O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.*

*Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.*

*O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.*

*O deal not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.*

*And when thou makest inquisition for my bloud, O sprinkle their poluted, yet penitent Souls, with*

*the*

*the bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.*

*Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercy at laſt receive both me and my enemies.*

*When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.*

*When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.*

*That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-bleſſed eternity.*

*Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.*

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

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# *FINIS.*

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BIBL
HODLEIANA

A

# Perfect Copy of PRAYERS, Used by His MAJESTIE In the time of *HIS SUFFERINGS.*

*Delivered to Doctor* Juxon *Bishop of* London *immediately before His Death.*

Also a Copie of a Letter from the *PRINCE.*

Printed *Anno Domini*, 1649.

# A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is so great that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My miſery with thine eye of Mercy, & let thy infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjuſt enemies the miniſters of thy Juſtice: But yet My God, if in thy wiſdom, this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for My unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingrateſull bondage be fitteſt for My over-high deſires; if the pride of My (not enough humbled) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what ſorrow Thou wilt have Me ſuffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee (let My craving O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodneſſe which is Thy ſelf, Thou wilt ſuffer ſome beam of Thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in My mind, that I, who in My greateſt afflictions acknowledge it My Nobleſt Title to be Thy Creature, may ſtill depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My deſtruction. And if if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſſe have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to Thy eternall Kingdome, through the Merits of thy Son our alone Saviour Ieſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

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## *Another* PRAYER.

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, looke down upon Me Thy unworthy ſervant, who here proſtrate

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My ſelf at the Foot-ſtool of Thy Throne of Grace; but looke upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Ieſus Chriſt, in whom thou art onely well pleaſed; for of My ſelf I am not worthy to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with My unclean lips to Thee moſt Holy and eternall God; for as in ſin I was conceived and born, ſo likewiſe I have broken all thy Commandments by My ſinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which thou haſt forbidden under pain of thy heavy diſpleaſure: as for My ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting torments in that to come; if Thou ſhouldſt deale with Me according to My deſerts. I confeſſe O Lord, that it is Thy Mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compaſſion (which never fails) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy mercies, and by the merits of Ieſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy divine Majeſtie, that thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with Thy ſervant, nor be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, but be thou mercifull unto Me, and waſh away all My ſins with that pretious bloud that My Saviour ſhed for Me. And I beſeech Thee, O Lord, not only to waſh away all My ſins, but alſo to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the droſſe of My naturall corruption; and as thou doſt adde daies to My life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have paſt this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlaſting Kingdom, through the Merits of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

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*A Prayer & Confeſſion, made in & for the times of affliction.*

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is only Thy goodneſſe that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; ſo it

is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſſe our ſinnes freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which thou haſt given Me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? And injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the dictates of a right-informed Conſcience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know My repentance is weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayeſt cleare the way for Thine owne mercies, to which O let Thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure Conſtancy againſt temptations, and a diſcerning Spirit, to chooſe what is beſt for Thy Church and People, which Thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt mercifull Father, for Thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our only Saviour. *Amen.*

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*A PRAYER in time of imminent Danger.*

O Moſt mercifull Father, though My ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, ô Lord, ſince Thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfained repentance come to Thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſſions, to deſpair of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire Thy Divine Majeſty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My ſins, but alſo free me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies.

mies. But if thy wrath againſt My hainous Offences will not otherwaies be ſatisfied then by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble importunity, I do, and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through my weaknes or, want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudy Tryall, that ſo My ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to My ſalvation hereafter. Grant this, ô mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

FINIS.

A Copy of a Letter which was ſent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the *Hague Jun.* 23. 1648.

SIR,

*HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) report, I have ſent this bearer* Seamour *to wait upon your Majeſty; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall aſſure your* Majeſtie, *I doe not onely pray for your* Majeſtie *according to my Duty; but ſhall alwaies be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power, to deſerve that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of your* Majeſtie upon

SIR,

Hague *Ian.* 23. 1648.

Your Majeſties moſt humble and moſt obedient Son and ſervant

*CHARLS.*

The Subſcription was thus,

For the King.

Munday 29th Ianuary, 1648.

*A true Relation of the KINGS Speech to the Lady Eliſabeth, and the Duke of Gloceſter, the day before his Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave His bleſſing to the Lady *Eliſabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her brother *Iames*, when ever ſhee ſhould ſee him, That it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charls* as his eldeſt brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then ſaid the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth a bundance of Tears, promiſed Him to write downe the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon His knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head, (upon which words the Child looked very ſtedfaſtly on him) Mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King, ſo long as your brother *Charls* and *Iames* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the laſt: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child ſighing, ſaid, I will be torn in peeces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

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*Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the 29th of *Ianua.* 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him; He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat he had to ſay

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to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe He feared their cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Politie*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt popery. He told me He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend His bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation to all His friends: ſo after He had given me His bleſſing I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and he feared alſo to their own ſouls; & deſired me not to grieve for Him, for he ſhould die a Martyr, And that he doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that We ſhould be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember. ELISABETH.

*Another Relation from the Lady* Eliſabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Glocester*, that he would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: He told him, that He heard that the Army intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his ſoul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord and he would provide for him.

*Copia vera.*

Munday 29th Ianuary, 1648.

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*Copia vera.*

# An Epitaph upon King *CHARLS.*

SO fals that ſtately Cedar; while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celeſtiall Man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let him look,
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if he do,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, and *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee back again.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument, nor Verſe.
Thy *Suff'rings* & thy *Death* let no man name;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

*J. H.*

Mary Greene

Her Book